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*The League of Nations, To-day and To-morrow.* HORACE MEYER KALLEN. Boston: Marshall Jones Co. 1919. Pp. xx + 181.

This is a timely book. When the war suddenly terminated, few had been seriously considering what must form the structure of a lasting peace. A group of men in New York City had been more far-sighted. For over a year "a body of men of affairs, university men and journalists, mostly editors," had been considering together the economic and political aspects of the problem. They appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Ralph S. Rounds, of the New York Bar, and the author, "to organize and conduct an investigation, of which the result is the present monograph" (p. vii).

The book consists chiefly of a "Protocol for a League of Nations" and arguments upon its various articles. The scheme, which has been worked out in elaborate detail, is claimed to be in the spirit of President Wilson's state papers and addresses, which are cited in its support. The protocol begins with the "purposes of a league of nations" which are: "(a) to assure to its members and their peoples security, freedom, equality of economic and cultural opportunity and thereby to maintain lasting peace;" and "(b) to create and maintain whatever agencies may be necessary to effect these ends" (pp. 18, f.). All nations are to be eligible for membership in the league, their voting power to be determined on the basis of their political and economic organization, their actual economic and military resources, the democratic character of their governments, and the literacy and size of their populations. The government of the league would consist of an International Council, composed of representatives from the various states, elected by popular vote on the basis of proportional representation, together with other bodies subsidiary to it. With this council would rest the duty to enforce peace on recalcitrant nations, to punish international offenders, and to avert wars. The council would delegate powers to eight commissions which would exercise supreme control within their respective provinces, *viz.*: Armaments, International Commerce (with seven sub-commissions), Central Africa, International Finance (with sub-commissions on Credit and Political Loans), Education, Undeveloped Countries, International Hygiene, and Labor. There would also be an International Court, consisting of twenty-five judges appointed for a term of seven years. Appeals could be taken from the decisions of this Court to the International Council itself.

It is impossible within the limits of a book review to outline further the details in this scheme of international federation, much less to state and discuss the arguments advanced for them. The precautions necessary to assure the permanently democratic charac-

ter of the league are carefully thought out. The same is true of the provisions to secure fair play in international commerce, to prevent the evils of secret treaties and diplomatic intrigue, and to protect backward nations from unjust economic exploitation, while at the same time affording them opportunities for the development of their natural resources. In general, the spirit of the book is fine. It may appear ungracious to criticize it at all. However, it seems to me that the scheme, while desirable in the main, is too ambitious in what it expects the league to undertake at the outset. It is true that the commissions proposed have precedents in the control of commerce, food, raw materials, banking, *etc.*, made necessary during the war. But do we love government by commission so well, and has it thus far proved so successful as to warrant continuing in times of peace, and for practically the entire world, the permanent regulation of commerce, banking, labor, and even education, along the lines suggested by the analogy of our own Interstate Commerce and Trade Commissions?

On the whole, might it not be prudent for the League of Nations to begin with a more modest programme? Were it to fail because it attempted too much at first, the idea of an international federation would become utterly discredited, perhaps for generations to come. On the other hand, if the League can succeed in handling a few matters of importance during the present generation, the world will thereafter be glad to give it larger powers and responsibilities. But this is only my personal reaction. The book ought to convince every one that some sort of a League of Nations is an immediate necessity; and doubtless it will be all the more helpful to many because it is so thought-provoking that they will be unable, at least on first consideration, to agree with some of its details.

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## JOURNALS AND NEW BOOKS

THE PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW. May, 1918. *Scientific Method in Philosophy and the Foundations of Pluralism* (pp. 227-273): C. A. RICHARDSON. — New realism, or scientific method in philosophy, is here contrasted with pluralism, or the genetic method. The points of difference are those touching the existence of the self, and the meaning and validity of the objective categories of experience, *viz.*, causality and continuity. The error of scientific method is that it considers things objectively in abstraction, taking into account only the objective side of experience. It can thus only be descriptive, never explanatory. New realism ignores the existence of